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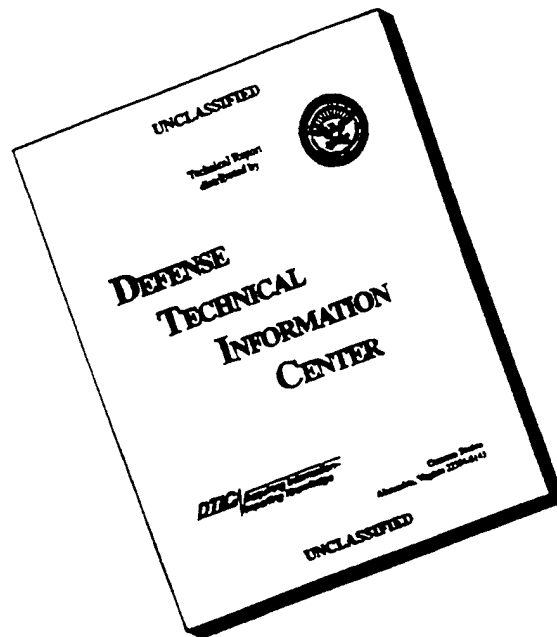
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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

December 1987

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PREFACE

This bibliography is culled primarily from books and scholarly journals received during the previous quarter. Political, military, strategic, and other materials are included, derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from quarter to quarter. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and routing, are dated slightly but are included based on their date received. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of developments in Africa, but not to include all publications available during the quarter.

Analysts contributing to this bibliography are LaVerle Berry, Kate Bullard, Rita Byrnes, Naomi Greer, Robert Handloff, Patricia Rigsbee, and Rachel Warner.

Africa General

Chabal, Patrick, ed.   Political Domination in Africa: Reflections on the
Limits of Power. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986,
84-108.

All of the essays in this collection express discontent with the
widespread depoliticization, authoritarianism, and personalism
characterizing contemporary African politics and the resultant
ineffective if not bad government. The authors pursue two areas of
enquiry: how to account for the current state of affairs and how to
alter its course. All agree that to have expected the newly
independent states of Africa to develop into modern, Western-style
nation-states was naive. Nevertheless, explanations for African
tyranny, much of which is only barely disguised by pseudo-democratic
jargon, remain elusive. To their credit, the authors seek answers
from within African societies and refrain from blaming
multinationals, the CIA, or devil theories like dependency. As to
how things might be changed, all agree that Africans themselves must
find solutions; yet all share the notion that political
institution-building works better if you build up as well as down.

Desfosses, Helen.   "The USSR and Africa." Issue, vol. 16-17, 1987, pp.
3-10.

Desfosses is sharply critical of US policies toward Africa, noting
that both superpowers view Africa within a triangular arena
comprising the United States, the Soviet Union, and Africa, and both
have subordinated Africa policy to their geopolitical aims. Key
elements of Soviet policy are the relatively low status of Africa as
a global priority, the practice of establishing state-to-state
relations, the promotion of ideology, and the emphasis on strategic
objectives. In Desfosses' view of international relations, Africa
must play a more prominent role based in part on Premier Gorbachev's
acknowledgement of the growing economic gap between North and South,
and in part on the South's demands for a new international economic
order. She also predicts that future Soviet policy toward Africa
will consolidate gains made during the late 1970s, continue to offer
military rather than economic assistance, demonstrate a more
pragmatic approach toward relations with capitalist and pro-Western
African governments, and, in general, to view Africa as a relatively
low priority. Finally, she concludes, the Soviet Union will continue
to take advantage of opportunities to enhance its relations with
Africa, not because of any "grand design," but because the Soviet
Union still combines pragmatism toward Africa with a commitment to
ideology.

Goodman, Melvin A.   "The Soviet Union and the Third World: The Military
Dimension." In The Soviet Union and the Third World: The Last Three
Decades. Edited by Andrzej Korbonski and Francis Fukuyama. Ithaca,
New York: Cornell University Press, 1987, pp. 46-66.

In this review of Soviet military intervention in the Third World, the author provides a number of interesting statistics on deployment of Soviet military manpower and materiel to Third World countries, including Angola and Ethiopia. Goodman analyzes Soviet military successes and setbacks in the Third World and projections for the future, concluding that the Soviets have only a limited capability for global operations. He also summarizes final statements of the Twenty-Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which confirm his view that Moscow's role in the Third World is considered less important than its domestic economic problems and improving relations with the United States.

Ottaway, Marina.   "Afrocommunism Ten Years After: Crippled But Alive"
    Issue, vol. 16, No. 1 (1987), pp. 12-17.

This is the latest in a long series of publications on Marxism-Leninism in Africa by a leading Western expert on the subject. The author considers three countries that have officially embraced Marxist-Leninist ideology since 1977--Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia--and briefly discusses each country's political and economic institutions and organization. Ottaway finds that after a decade, Afrocommunism is still developing in Ethiopia but has stalled in Angola and Mozambique; that the experiment with Marxism-Leninism does not appear to be particularly successful; and that the Marxist-Leninist blueprint for political and economic development has been no more successful than non-Marxist approaches. Despite these conclusions, Ottaway predicts that as long as dismal economic and political conditions exist, the search for radical solutions will continue, particularly in southern Africa.

Shearman, Peter.   "Soviet Foreign Policy in Africa and Latin America: A
    Comparative Case Study." Millennium: Journal of International
    Studies, vol. 15, no. 4 (Winter 1986), pp. 339-365.

The author traces changes in Soviet perceptions, goals, and strategies in Latin America and Africa, where Soviet security interests are relatively, although not entirely, unimportant. Shearman summarizes Soviet policy toward these regions over the past 3 decades and argues that Soviet strategy and objectives have evolved from an ideologically based, expensive, and often reckless policy of support for Third World clients to a more pragmatic approach designed to benefit the Soviet economy. To explain this change, Shearman points to economic decline in the Soviet Union--Moscow cannot afford more Cubas--and a general and profound reluctance among African and Latin American leaders to espouse Soviet-style socialism. At least in foreign policy, Soviet ideology has yielded to self-interest and geopolitical realities, which dictated a need to modernize the economy and compete with the West for markets. So far, concludes Shearman, Soviet gains have been unimpressive and are likely to remain so as long as the Soviet economy and technology remain inferior to those of the West.

Horn of Africa

~~~~~, Samuel. Superpower Diplomacy in the Horn of Africa. London:
Croom Helm, 1987, 242 pp. Reviewed by Jon Bennett in International
Affairs, vol. 63, no. 3 (Summer 1987), p. 526.

In a succinct and insightful study, Makinda analyzes the evolution of
American and Soviet diplomacy in Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, and
Djibouti since the 1950s. In particular, he examines the period
since the downfall of Haile Selassie in 1974, when superpower rivalry
in the region intensified, and the shifts in superpower allegiance by
both Ethiopia and Somalia in ensuing years. He perceives a central
paradox in this situation, in that these states have been dependent
on the superpowers for economic and military assistance, while the
superpowers have had little influence over policymaking decisions in
the Horn. Nonetheless, Makinda argues, the presence of the
superpowers has been a stabilizing influence despite its basis in
geostrategic competition. This stabilizing factor may itself be
undermined by the increasing demands for self-determination in areas
that remain outside the influence of either superpower.

Sudan

~~~~ward, Peter, "Sudan's New Democracy" Contemporary Review, vol. 251,
no. 1458 (July 1987), pp. 6-11.

Peter Woodward, a distinguished author with first-hand experience in
Sudan, has written extensively about Sudanese politics and
nationalism. In this article, he examines the possibilities for
viable, stable government in Sudan, assessing the potential for
liberal democracy. He finds in the government of Sadiq el-Mahdi some
of the weaknesses that characterized the government of the 1960s. He
envisions the possibility of another military coup, especially if a
new national constitution and an end to the current civil war are not
forthcoming. He also notes that neither civilian nor military rulers
have been able to solve Sudan's fundamental problems of ethnicity and
religious conflict within the framework of a viable nation-state.
This article offers a useful perspective and insightful analysis from
a seasoned observer of this complex nation.

Indian Ocean Islands

Madagascar

~~ Gaudusson, Jean du Bois.   "Madagascar: A Case of Revolutionary
Pragmatism." In Military Marxist Regimes in Africa. Edited by John
Markakis and Michael Waller. Totowa, NJ: Frank Cass, 1986, pp.
101-21.

The author traces the development of Didier Ratsiraka's socialist
regime since the assassination of interim President Ratsimandrava in

1975. Rising above disputing military factions, Ratsiraka's first moves were to consolidate power in his office, implement the socialist "revolution," reduce Madagascar's Western alignment, and attempt to preserve selected traditional Malagasay values that might prove useful in accomplishing the above. Foreign policy rhetoric became openly anti-Western, despite continuing massive infusions of French economic assistance. The military was reorganized and drawn into the political process, but did not become the revolutionary organization on which the authority of the regime would rest. Ratsiraka, now in his second decade as president, finds himself occupying a greatly strengthened executive office but surrounded by a diverse and rebellious populace barely controlled by numerous, politically weak organizations. The pragmatic Malagasay solution has been to reassert Western values and begin to liberalize the economy, without abandoning the regime's radical tone. Gaudusson's brief analysis suggests that, with both the government and the populace sharply divided over the usefulness of Ratsiraka's brand of socialism to Madagascar's economic development, the political role of the military may be expanded in the near future.

Southern Africa

Botswana

Picard, Louis A.   The Politics of Development in Botswana: A Model for Success? Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987, 298 pp.

Picard has used his own extensive research, much of it in Botswana, to produce a comprehensive volume on a country often neglected by African specialists. Botswana is the only African state that has maintained a multiparty electoral system over a period of more than two decades. Picard focuses on the role of state institutions in defining and managing the rapic economic development that has occurred. Botswana is also unique, in his view, in its application of state control to the management of local-level institutions and policymaking in the areas of human resources and rural development. Picard's discussion of the continuing influence of colonial rule on contemporary politics is also useful.

South Africa

Chan, Stephen.   "Contemplating the 1990s--Towards a Pattern in South African Regional Policy." RUSI - Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, vol. 132, no. 2 (June 1987), pp. 45-50.

The author describes Pretoria's manipulation of Western sympathies, bolstering South Africa's image as a bulwark against the spread of Communism and a symbol of regional stability, even while working to destabilize neighboring states. This is possible, in Chan's view, because US policy toward Africa is a piecemeal response to political developments on a continent that is not well understood. As a

result, Americans accept the high priority assigned the perceived external threat, and the perception of the internal threat as another effect of the spread of Communism. Chan even views South Africa's homelands as an adjunct to its regional strategy, suggesting that the dependent status of neighboring states enhances the perceived legitimacy of the homelands. Aside from this leap of logic, which lacks supporting evidence from any African state, Chan's argument presents another facet of the genius of P.W. Botha in his use of the threat of Communism to serve domestic, regional, and geopolitical purposes.

Radu, Michael.   "The African National Congress: Cadres and Credo."
    Problems of Communism, vol. 36, July-August 1987, pp. 58-75.

Michael Radu argues that the African National Congress (ANC) is a committed Marxist-Leninist organization, marshalling his evidence from ANC membership rolls, rhetoric, and operating procedures. He also recounts past events that have allowed Communist influence to increase, such as government bans against moderate ANC leaders, and he notes that the Freedom Charter lacks any reference to "one-man, one-vote." Radu's argument is unconvincing, overall, in that his conclusion is contained in the premise from which he starts. "Antidemocratic ideals" are those expressed in anti-Western terms and those that favor the overthrow of the current government--the same circular reasoning that is evident in South Africa's Suppression of Communism Act. Emphasizing the undemocratic operating procedures of the ANC, he fails to note the undemocratic features of the government against which this revolution is directed. He overlooks the National Party's commitment to deny democratic rights to the majority of its population. Despite the sterility of the argument, however, this article contains interesting bits of ANC history, reveals some of the evidence that can be marshalled by those committed to labelling the ANC a Communist front, and acknowledges that the ANC is divided over the question of ties to the Soviet Union. Radu does not argue that the first black government will be controlled by Moscow, but neither does he allow for the possibility that South Africans are capable of limiting Soviet control over their political development.

Swaziland

Picard, Louis A.   "Traditionalism, the Bureaucracy, and Local
    Administration: Continuity and Change in Swaziland." Journal of
    African Studies, vol. 13, no. 4 (Winter 1986-87), pp. 116-25.

Picard departs from the standard analyses of Swaziland, most of which focus on the country's central government institutions, and concentrates instead on local-level administration. He describes the schism between the traditional political elite and modern sociopolitical elite, who have become increasingly alienated from the political system constructed by the late King, Sobhuza II. Sobhuza had maintained a delicate balance between the traditionalists on the Swazi National Council (Liqoqo) and those who favored a

constitutional   government,   primarily   by   incorporating   many
traditional elements in the national government. He was unable to
achieve this balance in implementing local-level institutions because
of their longstanding competition, which flared anew at his death in
1982. Picard discusses the colonial setting in which this rivalry
developed, traditional sources of economic power, and barriers to
local-level development, concluding that in spite of the success of
the monarchy up to 1982, prospects for the traditional political
elite in the post-Sobhuza period are bleak. Traditional elites will
continue to block the extension of the bureaucracy and delivery of
services to rural areas unless they are well represented within the
modern civil service, despite the country's relative prosperity and
access to foreign technical assistance.

Zimbabwe

Gregory, C.   "The Impact of Ruling Party Ideology on Zimbabwe's
Post-Independence Domestic Development." _Journal of Social,
Political, and Economic Studies_, vol. 12, Summer 1987, pp. 115-56.

Gregory begins his article with the debatable assertion that most
observers of Zimbabwean politics fail to consider the impact of the
ruling party's ideology on post-independence developments.   He
proceeds to examine this issue in exhaustive detail, viewing the
official ideology of Zimbabwe's ruling party, the Zimbabwe African
National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), as a prism through which
the party views reality. Speeches by party members proclaim the
importance of ideology in the construction of socialism, and declare
that without Marxist-Leninist dogma, the scientific basis of society
can neither be understood nor changed. The author discusses the
nature and role of the party, its economic policies, and political
developments leading to its maturation and the transition to
socialism. He concludes that the formerly capitalist economy of
Zimbabwe is entering its socialist phase, a conclusion that is
compatible with the current political shift toward a one-party
government.

West Africa

O'Brien, Donal B. Cruise.   "Wails and Whispers: The People's Voice in West
African Muslim Politics." In _Political Domination in Africa:
Reflections on the Limits of Power_. Edited by Patrick Chabal.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 71-83.

The author questions whether Islam has contributed to the development
of democracies in West Africa, and concludes that it has and will
increase its contribution in the future. He argues that despite the
authoritarian nature of leadership roles within Islam, a closer look
at Muslim institutions reveals a democratic element in their
practice.   Islamic leaders attempt to anticipate the popular will--

"listening to whispers to avoid hearing people's wails." They enhance the legitimacy of a secular politician through their acquiescence to his decisions. They often adapt their own teachings to the needs of the state. Finally, Islamic leaders contribute to the development of democracies by informing secular leaders of the sentiment of their followers. O'Brien's perceptions suggest that a better understanding of the broker role of Islamic leaders might help improve our understanding of states with large Muslim populations. His suggestion that the practice of Islam may be changing toward more democratic participation bears further study, as does the corollary notion that Islamic communities will become an increasingly potent political force across much of Africa in the future.

Burkina Faso

Otayek, Rene.   "The Revolutionary Process in Burkina Faso: Breaks and Continuities". <u>Military Marxist Regimes in Africa.</u>, Edited by John Markakis and Michael Waller.   Totowa, NJ: Frank Cass, 1986, pp. 82-98.

The author gives a systematic analysis of the factors surrounding the three coups d'etat which took place in Burkina Faso between November 1980 and August 1983, focusing primarily on the impact of the revolution under Sankara and the effects of the militarization of power.   While outlining the impact of sweeping reforms, Otayek also describes limitations imposed through economic realities and political divisions, ultimately calling into question whether the new regime can transform the Burkinabe society through other than authoritarian methods.

Cote d'Ivoire

Welch, Claude E., Jr.   "Cote d'Ivoire: Personal Rule and Civilian Control."   In <u>No Farewell to Arms? Military Disengagement from Politics in Africa and Latin America</u>.   Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987, pp. 172-194.

The author seeks to explain the development of civilian control over the military in Cote d'Ivoire and whether the Ivorian examples can be applied to other countries.   Welch focuses on the 40 years of Felix Houphouet-Boigny's leadership, giving particular attention to Houphouet's attitudes toward the nature and pace of political change. The salient factors in Ivorian politics since independece have been the establishment of personal and party control under a strong President, and the pursuit of economic development through cooperation with France.   In Cote d'Ivoire, this has meant reliance on French military support coupled with a compliant Ivorian military. To ensure its compliance, Houphouet has divided responsibility for internal security among army, police, and the gendarmerie; he selectively coopted military leaders by appointing them to administrative posts in civilian government; and he maintained policies in line with the ideological leanings of senior officers.

As for Cote d'Ivoire after Houphouet, Welch suggests five scenarios which might result in greater political participation by the military; however, he concludes that none is likely to occur, and consequently there will be little change in the existing pattern.

Ghana

Ray, Donald I. Ghana: Politics, Economics and Society. London: Frances Pinter, 1986. Reviewed in Millenium: Journal of International Studies, vol. 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1987), pp. 162-4.

The author sees the Rawlings brand of Marxism as an attempt to resist dependence on the West, preserve valued elements of tradition, enhance Ghana's symbolic status as an independent regional power, implement civilian rule, and develop the nation's agricultural economic base. Many government policies in this context are the product of the rivalry between two left-wing parties--the June 4th Movement (JFM) and the New Democratic Movement (NDM). Chief among their differences is the question of the need for an interim national democratic phase before "true socialism" can be implemented, a distinction which rests on the desire for Western assistance to strengthen the economic institutions before large-scale nationalization. The reviewer notes the difficulty of analyzing Ghanaian development in strict Marxist terms, primarily because Rawlings' does not view Ghana in class terms. Rather, he uses Marxist labels to denounce the colonial past. If Western leaders were to recognize this and avoid confirming Marxist stereotypes, Rawlings' pragmatism would probably resist the domination by Moscow that is the prognosis for Ghana by Western ideologues.

Guinea Bissau

Chabal, Patrick. "Revolutionary Democracy in Africa: The Case of Guinea Bissau." In Political Domination in Africa: Reflections on the Limits of Power. Edited by Patrick Chabal., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 84-108.

This article analyses pre- and post-independent Guinea Bissau with emphasis on the formation and evolution of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), and the party's relationship to civil society. Chabal concludes that civil society is an important yet often neglected factor in understanding political evolution in African countries. He describes the Party's changing relation to the rural society during the fight for independence (rural society was the backbone of the revolutionary army) and after independence, when the party became preoccupied with urban problems. More important, in Chabal's view, are the social consequences of this changing relationship. This conclusion is pertinent to the study of African politics, raising questions often ignored in analyses of civil war, revolutionary war, or civil unrest that often plagues African countries.

Liberia

Liebenow, J. Gus.   Liberia: The Quest For Democracy.   Bloomington:
Indiana University Press, 1987, 326 pp.

The author describes Liberia's quest for democracy over the past century, with emphasis on the post-1980 period. The book focuses on ethnic and class conflict through the first republic and the 1980 coup, and measures the impact of the coup on Liberian politics. Like many works on contemporary politics, it suggests that while the emerging democracy in this West African state may not conform strictly to Western models, it represents a vigorous attempt to build representative political institutions.